

The Tomb of Malik Rājpal at Makli Hill, Thatta: History and Architecture

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Abstract

During the golden era of Islamic empire that started from the mid-9th century until the devastation of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1256 AD, the Muslim culture remained unparalleled in its splendor and learning and was considered a period of un-comparable intellectual activity, particularly in the field of literature, alchemy, mathematics and architecture. But this magnificent epoch seems came to an end somewhere in the 11th century CE when de-integration of the Islamic empire started. The centralized power of the empire began to shatter due to problem of succession and marched toward the same fate as other empires. Since from its emergence, Islam remained a religion of a great tolerance towards other faiths and as a result of this open-minded attitude believing on giving-taking values the examples of which can best be seen in the different norms of the Muslim empire and in the subsequent rule, particularly in the Indian subcontinent. Although the intermingling of Arab, Central Asian and local Indian elements can be observed in the architectural heritage of the Muslims, the most significant are the Sassanid period architectural component and the Persio-Turkic traditions that largely influenced the Islamic aesthetic of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. One of the best examples, in this regard, is the tomb of Malik Rājpal at Makli Hill. In the present work an attempt has been made to highlight the historical significance and the architectural glory of the said tomb, and to find solution to its ambiguous architectural style.

Location

The tomb of Malik Rājpal is located at the Makli hill necropolis. It is a hill series, which stretches from north to south whereas this famous graveyard lies about three kilometers to the northwest of Thatta city¹, which itself situates ninety eight kilometers to the west of Karachi.

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Historical Background

It is generally believed that the Sammas were the local Rājputs of the great Yadavas branch² who had migrated from Kutch towards the Lower Sindh.³ However, there is controversy among the scholars concerning the beginning of the Samma domain besides the doubts among the scholars regarding the Samma lineage. Despite all these arguments based on some authentic references, we may proclaim that Fayrūz al-Dīn Shāh Jām Unar-I bin Disār was the actual founder of the Samma dynasty. He defeated Ḥamīr, the last ruler of the Sumra dynasty in AH738/AD1337 and thus became the master of the lower Sindh.⁴ It is important to mention here that Jām Unar-I shifted the capital city from Thatta and established a new seat of government in its neighborhood, known as “Samūi”.⁵ However Raverty does not mention Samūi but he only recorded the Jām of Lar, which means the ruler of the Lower Sindh.⁶

It is significant to advocate further that since then the Samma dynasty ruled over Sindh till the arrival of the Arghuns (Central Asian Turks). In this process Shāh Beg Arghun defeated the last king of the Samma dynasty Jām Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Shāh in 919 AH/ 1520 AD and laid the foundation of Arghun dynasty in the Sindh valley.⁷ Thus the Central Asian Turks domination over the Sindh valley caused the cultural interactions in the area of our study, which alongside the vernacular values have also left impact on the Makli Hill art and architecture. Therefore, as a blend of various cultures, a new form of building art was emerged at the Makli Hill Necropolis.⁸

The rulers of the Samma dynasty had established matrimonial and friendly relations with the kings of Gujarat and with the other neighboring countries.⁹ Thus under such prevailing circumstances, the socio-economic activities of the under discussion region were immensely developed. Furthermore, the peaceful and prosperous environments of the Samma domain, and the geo-strategic position of the region, have altogether attracted the men of letters, traders and the craftsmen, who brought with themselves their own ideas, which were incorporated alongside the vernacular traditions? Thus, as a result the Persio-Turkic traditions eventually caused the origin of a new style, which can be visibly noticed in the tomb of Malik Rājpal.

The Tomb of Malik Rājpal

On the basis of epigraphical record, the under study mausoleum, can be assigned to a certain Malik Rājpal. However, except the inscription, carved on a stone surface, in *naskh* style, which possesses the lineage the Malik Rājpal, nothing else

can be noticed in order to solve the prevailing matter of contention. In this context, different writers have recorded the above cited inscription, which yields the lineage of the in question person. However, this inscription needs serious debate, because it denotes different titles instead of the real names. In this connection, it may be further added here, that in some cases in the contemporary historical accounts, one can easily notice, that a certain title has been owed by the rulers and princes of the Samma dynasty. Thus in the identification of the real name, sometime these titles have created problems. Such, debatable concerns may also be seen in the inscription under study. Before, discussing the lineage cited by the different writers, focus shall be given to the original inscription (Pl. 2) executed inside this tomb complex, which reads such as:-

”هذا المقام الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى لملك راج بال بن ملك انر بن ملك راهو بن ملك
رايدهن بن ملك راهو بن فيروز شاه سلطان اللهم بر دمضجعه ونور قبره وانس وحشته“

This is the place of the seeker of the blessings of Allah Almighty, Malik Rājpal, son of Malik Unar, son of Malik Rāhu, son of Malik Raydhan, son of Malik Rāhu, son of Sultān Fayrūz. O Allah Almighty, ease with comfort his grave pit and enlighten his grave (with blessings) and change his fear (of the grave) into fearlessness.

This inscription has been recorded for the first time by Mir Ali Sher Qani in his book, originally composed in Persian entitled “*Makli Nāma*”, which was later on, translated into Sindhi language by Pir Ḥisām al-Dīn Rāshidi.¹⁰ Later on, this genealogical table was also published by Maulvi Muḥammad Shafi’, Dani, Bukhāri, Lari and Durrani in their works.¹¹ However, none of them have given the details of the recorded lineage of Malik Rājpal. Therefore, it becomes very difficult to know about the exact details concerning his fore fathers. However, the scholars cited above have reported, that Malik Rājpal was the son of Malik Unar.¹² But question arises here, that what was the era or the specific time scale of Malik Unar? In this regard, in the historical accounts, the contemporary historians as well as, the eminent scholars have recorded the names of three Unars. In this sequence, the first person with this title was the founder of the Samma dynasty such as, Jām Unar-I, whose accession has been erroneously recorded by Ghafur and Lakho as, AH737/AD1336.¹³ While at another place Lakho incorrectly mentioned the accession date of the same ruler AH736/AD1335¹⁴, moreover, on the same page he recorded his rule in AD1335 till AD1339. Whereas, Baluch in his works has given the revised list of the Samma rulers, according to which he became the ruler in AH751 and ruled till

AH 753.¹⁵ Moreover, Lakho at yet another place has given the list of Samma Sultāns in appendix “B” and proclaimed his accession in AD1350 and rule till AD1352.¹⁶ The above mentioned different dates associated with the accession of Jām Unar-I, have created doubts in order, to conclude the prevailing issue of contention. However, Raverty on the bases of rational justifications, has very correctly mentioned, that Jām Unar-I became the ruler in AH738/ 29th, July, 1337¹⁷, which seems to be more appropriate in consequence, to solve this matter of controversy.

It is significant to advocate here, that Lakho in the list of Samma Sultāns has recorded that Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Shāh Jām Unar-II was the son of Rukn-al-Dīn Shāh, Jām Tamāchi, who became the ruler of the Samma dynasty in AD1392 by replacing his father and ruled till AD1404.¹⁸ In this sequence Lakho in appendix “A” has given the genealogy of Samma Sultāns, which shows that Ṣadr-al-Dīn Shāh, Jām Sanjar alias Rayadhan was his son.¹⁹ However, his accession date mentioned by Lakho in appendix “B” is suggesting AD1454 and rule till AD1464.²⁰ If we agree with this statement, then what about the genealogical table inscribed in the tomb of Malik Rājpal, which tells a new story and according to which Rayadhan was the grandfather of Malik Unar.²¹ Thus it appears that this information compiled by Lakho needs serious debate, because it has created doubts and confusion among the scholars concerning the exact accession of the above mentioned rulers of the Samma dynasty.

The genealogical tree of the Samma Jāms is showing the third person with the name of Jām Unar, whom actual name was Sikander Shāh-II Jām Muḥammad alias Jām Unar-III. Who was the son of Jām Fateh Khan son of Ṣadr al Dīn Jām Sikander-I. Jām Fateh Khan ascended the throne in AD1413 and ruled till AD1428.²² Similarly the list of Samma kings, which has been given by Lakho is denoting, that Jām Sikander II (Jām Unar-III) ascended the throne in AD1427 and his father Jām Fateh Khan became the ruler in AD1399 and ruled till AD1427.²³ Likewise, Hodivala is claiming that Jām Fateh Khan became the ruler in AD1398 and ruled till AD1414. Whereas, his son Jam Sikander II (Unar-III) ascended the throne in AD 1442 and ruled till AD 1444.²⁴ Thus it appears that the accession date of Jām Unar-III and of his father (Jām Fateh Khan) seems to be a debatable issue. In this process, question arises here, that which Unar was the father of Malik Rājpal? The inscription found at the tomb indicates that Malik Unar was the son of Malik Rāhu.²⁵

Now question arises here, that who was Malik Rāhu? The authentic sources about him are absolutely silent, while this inscription mentions that Malik Raydhan was the great grandfather of Malik Unar. It is indeed interesting to argue here, that if we consider this later version concerning the proper lineage of Malik Rājpal, which shows, that he was the son of Jām Unar-III and apparently Jām Unar-III was the son of Jām Fateh Khan, whose title, perhaps, was Malik Rāhu or most probably this was his actual name who, perhaps, entitled himself with Jam Fateh Khan son of Šadr al-Dīn Jām Sikander-I probably alias Raydhan (the grandfather of Malik Unar). This latest version of information seems to be more convincing, which suggests that Malik Rājpal was the son of Malik Unar better known as Sikander Shah-II alias Jām Unar-III, son of Fateh Khan alias Malik Rāhu-I, son of Sikander Shah-I alias Raydhan, son of Malik Rahu-II, son of Fayrūz al-Dīn Shāh Jām Unar-I. This proposed lineage of Malik Rājpal seems to be more accurate and convincing in order to solve the prevailing matter of concern. Now question arises here, that what was the time scale of Malik Rajpal? Since the reliable sources mentioned above regarding the in question person are absolutely silent. Therefore, it is very difficult to determine any idea, in consequent to conclude this matter of controversy. However, in the light of above stated sources, it became quite clear, that Malik Rājpal seems to be a prince or a noble rather than a ruler, because the rulers of the Samma dynasty are generally known as the Jāms of Lar, which means kings of Lower Sindh.²⁶ In this connection, it is apparently alluding to this conclusion, that most probably the title “Malik” seems to have been applied for a prince or perhaps for a certain noble. Furthermore, the contemporary historians and the later researchers have been unable to produce any evidence regarding the early or later history of Malik Rājpal, except the short genealogical table, which has been displayed inside the tomb chamber. However, as a matter of fact except his death date, which has been recorded as AD1458-62, nothing else can be found in this inscription to formulate his life sketch. However, the present researchers on the basis of scanty evidences have been able to re-analyze the genealogical table, which has been given in the inscription. As a result the present researchers have been able to propose a genealogical table of Mlik Rajpal, which seems to be more appropriate and denoting close to the matter of fact. All such probabilities discussed in the present work, are evidently suggesting, that Malik Rājpal was the son of Jām Sikander II alias Jām Unar III, who ruled over Sindh valley from AD1442 till AD1444, whereas, his son Malik Rājpal died in AD1458, while his tomb was constructed during AD1458-62.

Architectural Details

Outer Detail:

This magnificent mausoleum is square in plan (fig. 1), measuring 24'.10" X 24'.10" whereas, the total height of this splendid edifice is 17 feet. It is significant to make a mention here, that the four walls of this illustrious tomb chamber may be divided into two parts. The lower portion up to 6 feet height is constructed through dressed stones, which seems to be elegantly organized. In fact, the inner core of this lower part of the wall has been veneered by means of rough stone filling. While on the either sides, the face, lifting has been executed through the dressed stone blocks which have been wrought in ashlar masonry. Above this lower phase of dressed stone wall, the remaining portion has been erected through burnt bricks. It is pertinent to pinpoint here, that both parts of the walls are generally bonded by means of lime mortar. It may be further added here, that a few places lime plaster patches can be still observed. These scanty evidences are clearly proving that the tomb chamber was once wrought through the glazed plaster work. It is a kind of plastering work, can be seen for the first time at Makli Hill in the old mosque (AD1388-92) located to the northwest of Jām Tamāchi's tomb pavilion.

Façade

The outer four sides of this exquisitely composed tomb are identical in shape (pl. 1). The total height of the façade is 17 feet. Moreover, each side is consisting with five panels, constructed with the same width and length. Each panel is separated by means of pilasters, these are slightly projected outwards. Likewise, the construction of the wall in two stages, these pilasters are also constructed in the same gesture, such as, about 6 feet height, these pilasters have been erected through the ashlar masonry, whereas, up to the cornice moulding or just below the plain parapet these have been constructed through the burnt bricks.

It is important to elaborate further, that the central panel is accommodating pointed arch openings. The intrados of the arch openings have been veneered by means of dressed stone blocks. These have been also executed in the same ashlar masonrical attitude. This arch opening enclosed by means of rectangular frames. The either side frames of the entrances particularly up to the shoulders of the archways, likewise, visors of the arches are also built through the finely dressed stone blocks. Moreover, the spandrel of these orders and the upper framings has been constructed from the burnt bricks.

The spandrels of this doorway are simple in order. However, the inner part of the upper border band of the archway is yielding denticulate design, which has been veneered through the cut and dressed brick work technique.

Parapet

The parapet of the tomb chamber is simple in shape (pl. 1). Moreover, its standing height from the ground level is 15 feet. Whereas, the height of the parapet is about 2 feet the total height of the each side façade is 17 feet.

Dome

This two tiered funeral structure is undoubtedly representing the beginning of a new tradition in the entire Makli Hill necropolis. The outer facing of this tomb is visibly denoting that the dome has crowned it directly. It may be pointed out, that in most cases the third tier is being used as a supporting issue to the domical device. Moreover, the third tier or the neck of the dome is also adding additional height to the entire structural composition. In the present case, it appears, that the shallow shaped dome is emerging directly from the roof of the first storey. However, the arched squinches (Pl. 2), which converted it internally into octagon, is undoubtedly indicating the only supporting discipline of architecture, which has given support to the super structure. It is important to make a mention here that the eastern and the southeastern parts of the dome are mostly collapsed, however, at these fallen places we can its remain while the northwestern sides of the dome at a certain levels are intact which is in picturing us regarding the exact shape of the dome. From this direction, the intact point is showing that the total height of this shallow dome would be eight and a half feet, which makes the total height of the tomb about 25'.6". Likewise, the lower storey the dome is also representing few traces of the glazed plaster work. These evidences are proving, that once the exterior surface of the dome was elegantly coated with glazed plaster.

Inner Side

Internally the tomb chamber is also square in plan. The inner details of this tomb chamber arch identical to the exterior side, however, the only difference is the provision of corner squinches, and these have been placed at six feet height just above the dado level. Whereas, the total height of these true arch squinches is fifteen feet. Due to such arrangements this process of the tomb chamber has been converted into octagon.

The visours of these true arched squinches are constructed in the same manner as can be seen in the case of the four arch ways. Those true arch squinches, placed at the angles are deeply composed whereas, those provided at cordial points are comparatively shallow in gesture.

These squinches are crowned by the simple laid zone of transition its length is 2 feet. Whereas, the total height of the inner chamber up to the phase of transition is 17 feet. The zone of transition is surmounted by the springing level, which is arranged in a denticulate pattern running horizontally just above this springing level the rim of the domical ceiling has been placed.

The domical ceiling is clearly showing, was constructed through the corbelling technique and its intact height would be 24 feet.

Comparison and Conclusion

Makli Hill Necropolis is yielding a galaxy of good looking buildings, which were constructed during four important periods such as, Samma AD1337-1520, Arghuns AD1520-55, Tarkhans AD1555-1613 and the Mughals AD1613. However, the present researchers have focused on one of the ignored categories of the mausoleum architecture, which were erected during the Samma domain. It is indeed significant to elaborate further, that the under study category of the tombs at Makli Hill, is representing a unique example among the preceding and succeeding instances of the mausoleums architecture in Pakistan. It is vital to pinpoint here, that the Samma period buildings were mostly conceived in the indigenous pattern. In this connection, we can clearly notice the Gujarat, Ahmadabad and Sindhian styles, which were uniformed at Makli Hill during the Samma domain. However, in the under study case we can visibly observe the Persian and Central Asian impacts. It is important to add here, that among the domed tombs at Makli Hill, we can see four different groups such as, (a) square chamber directly crowned by a dome (b) square chamber with openings on each sides and directly surmounted by a dome (c) square chamber crowned by a circular drum, which is then crowned by a dome and (d) square chamber crowned by an octagonal drum, which is supporting the dome.

Among the above cited categories the present researchers have selected the tomb of Malik Rājpal, which is denoting an exquisite precedent among the above stated categories. In this case, a two tiered tomb was constructed. It is the only example at Makli Hill necropolis among the mausoleum group, which does not possess a *mihrāb*. Besides, this unique example is also alluding to a new pattern, such as the

square chamber has been directly surmounted by a dome. Moreover, internally above the dado level squinches have been provided, making it more significant in the preceding and succeeding examples at Makli Hill.

It is equally important to make a mention here, that in order to study the stylistical approach of the in question category of tombs, we must work out the geneses of the style. In this process, the comparative analysis of this tomb will bring forth the probable origin and development of the at issue style. In the present day Pakistan the beginning of tomb architecture can be noticed at Lāl Mahrā Sharif in Dera Ismail Khan in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is significant to advocate here, that Taj Ali on the bases of stylistical grounds has placed the Lāl Mahrā Sharif tombs either to the end of the 11th or even to the beginning of the 12th century AD. He further classified them into two groups based on its stylistical treatment. In his first group tomb-I²⁷ and tomb-II²⁸ are showing square chamber with tapering round corner turrets.²⁹ In this sequence, it is pertinent to argue here, that these two tombs are yielding some sort of affinity to the tomb of Ismail Samanid at Bukhārā AD 907³⁰ and Arab Ata mausoleums at Tim in AD 977.³¹ These two examples are showing that the square chamber has been provided with round corner turrets. Moreover, the tomb chambers have been directly crowned by the dome, which, may also be observed in the case of above stated tombs at Lāl Mahrā Sharif.

It is important to elaborate further, that this Gomalian style was then transmitted to Muzaffar Garh. In this process, Talib Hussain has discovered an unknown tomb, denoting its similarity to the Lāl Mahrā Sharif style of tomb architecture, which he assigned to the 11th or 12 Century AD.³² However, a developed stance can be noted in the tomb of Shaikh Sadan Shaheed AD1157-87.³³ This tomb is located at Jalaran in the same vicinity. It is representing a new mode of workmanship, which is showing a classical example of the naked brick architecture. This tomb has been superbly wrought with carvings on the brick surface. The carving is indicating geometrical, floral and calligraphic specimens. These decorative features have enriched the entire exterior surface of this magnificent tomb. Besides, its glorious surface embellishment work, the architectural style is alluding to a new tradition in the history of tomb architecture in Pakistan. In this case, no *mihrāb* has been added, however, each side of the square chamber has been provided with arch openings.

It is indeed interesting to advocate here, that the idea of Sadan Shaheed tomb seems to have been taken from the Chahār Tāq or Char Qapu style (fire temple)

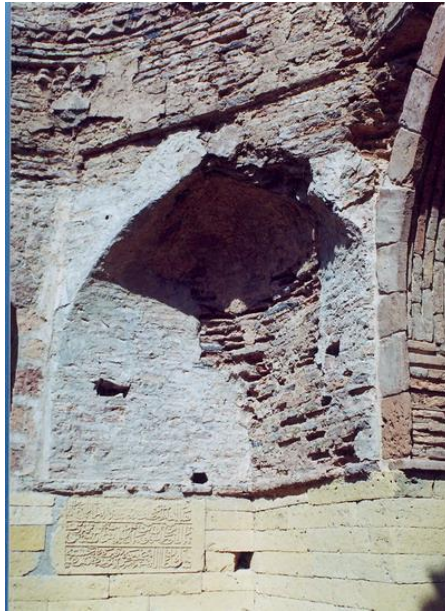
of the Partho-Sassanian traditions. In this connection, the earliest known Chahār Ṭāq can be noticed at Neisar, which may be dated to the second century AD. However, this idea continued very successfully during the Sassanians. In this regard, Arthur Upham Pope and Ernst Diez recorded many such instances in their works. The Neisar temple is square in plan; its four sides are yielding arch openings. The first storey is crowned by the square low neck, which is representing the second tier, whereas, the dome is making the third tier. Internally the square chamber is crowned by the squinches. These transform the smaller square into an octagon, on which the circular base of the dome is resting. An idea, which has been later on, conceived into the Islamic tomb architecture.³⁴ In this connection, it is worthwhile to proclaim further, that besides, the Sadan Shaheed tomb in the Chahār Ṭāq style, we have another such example, which is located at Makli Hill Thatta. The tomb of Malik Rājpal A.D1458-62 is representing similar approach. However, the only factor, which differ it from the Sadan Shaheed and Chahār Ṭāq styles, that is the square chamber directly crowned by the dome. An attitude, which may be observed in the tombs I, II, and III at Lāl Mahrā Sharīf and that of Muhammad bin Harun at Las Bela (Baluchistan), dated 11th century AD.³⁵ Yet another square tomb chamber directly surmounted by the dome, is standing in dilapidated condition, is located at Zairan in Parachinar in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This tomb may be assigned to Saif ad-Daula Maḥmūd and can be dated to the 11th or 12th century AD.³⁶ It is significant to elaborate further, that yet another specimen in the under discussion category, can be noticed in the tomb of Isa Langoti at Makli Hill AD1428-32.³⁷ However, in the tomb of Malik Rājpal like the mausoleum of Sadan Shaheed no *miḥrāb* can be seen. Likewise, in the mausoleum of Malik Rājpal the squinches are starting above the dado level.³⁸ This style is similar to Sadan Shaheed, converting the square into octagon, on which the low apex of the dome is resting, resembling in style to the Persian Chahār Ṭāq.

It may be further added, that in the tomb of Khalid Waleed at Khanewal in Multan AD1175-87³⁹, the squinches provided are comparatively different from Sadan Shaheed, but similar to those of Muhammad bin Harun's tomb at Lasbela. In such cases, squinches are starting from the floor level. Due to such arrangements, the tomb chamber has been internally converted into octagonal plan, whereas, this tomb chamber is externally square in plan. In the light of above stated discussions, it can be concluded, that the stylistical pattern adopted in this tomb is clearly denoting, its derivation from the Persian traditions. Moreover, the above cited mode of work has also influenced the Central Asian

values. However, as a matter of fact, due to the cultural interactions, the in question style eventually influenced the area of our concern. Thus initially this style was adopted in the Seraiki belt, later on, this mode of work was employed at Makli Hill. Furthermore, the masonrical attitude of the Malik Rājpal's tomb is undoubtedly denoting the continuation of the naked brick style, which is of course one of the significant pattern of the tomb architecture in the Seraiki region. Similarly, unlike the vernacular tradition of the Samma architecture, the in question tomb seems to have been moulded in the Persio-Turkic pattern, a tradition, which sets new trends in the area of our study.



Pl. 1: Tomb of Malik Rajpal: General view



Pl. 2: Tomb of Malik Rajpal: Corner squinch and Arabic inscription

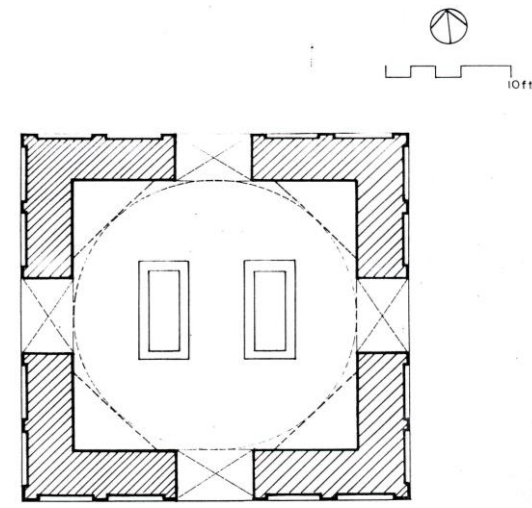


Fig 1: Ground plan: Tomb of Malik Rajpal. (From Lari)

End Notes

¹ Bosworth, 1991: 189.

² Dowson, 1979: 496-7 and Lakho, 2006: 6.

³ Qani, 1957: 815 and Qani, 2002: 100.

⁴ Raverty, 1979: 182.

⁵ Nadvi, 2008: 310.

⁶ Raverty 1979: 182.

⁷ Dani, 1982: 20.

⁸ Qazi, 2010: 84.

⁹ Ghafur, 1968: 6

¹⁰ Qani, 1994: 130

¹¹ Shafi, 1974: 15; Dani, 1982: 51; Lari, 1997: 72; Bokhari, 2001: 176; Lakho, 2006: 4-5 and Durrani, 2010: 65-7

¹² Dani, 1982: 51

¹³ Ghafur, 1968: 5 and Lakho, 2006: 4

¹⁴ Lakho, 2006:9

¹⁵ Baluch, 2006: 56

¹⁶ Lakho, 2006: 189

¹⁷ Raverty, 1979: 182

¹⁸ Lakho, 2006: 189

¹⁹ Lakho, 2006:188

²⁰ Lakho, 2006: 189

- ²¹ Shafi, N. D: 15; Dani, 1982: 51; Lari, 1997: 72; Bokhari, 2001: 176 and Durrani, 2010: 65-7
- ²² Lakho, 2006: 189
- ²³ Lakho, 2006: 5
- ²⁴ Lakho, 2006: 9
- ²⁵ Qani, 1994: 130
- ²⁶ Raverty, 1979: 182
- ²⁷ Ali, 1988: pl. 4
- ²⁸ Ali, 1988: pl. 13
- ²⁹ Ali, 1988: 28-9; Hassan, 2001: 168, pl.; pl. 2
- ³⁰ Rice, 1979: 48; Brend, 1991: 71; Irwin, 1997: 70; Hoag, 1977: 184; Rogers, 1976: 131 and Grabber, 1973: 201
- ³¹ Hoag, 1977: 185 and Pereira, 2004: 321
- ³² Hussain, 1997-98: 43; pl.1a and 2a
- ³³ Ali, 1991b: 1361997: 63
- ³⁴ Pope, 1965: 71 and pl. 68
- ³⁵ Hassan, 2001: 168, pl. 1 and 2
- ³⁶ Rehman, 1989: 79-81
- ³⁷ Lari, 1997: 44
- ³⁸ Lari, 1997: 55-9
- ³⁹ Ali, 1991a: 39-40; Khan, 1987-8: 307; 1997: 48 and Hassan, 2001: fig. 7s

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